

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 DAKAR 00146 061854Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----087082 061900Z /50

O R 061730Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2298
INFO AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAKAR 0146

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EG, SO, ET, IV
SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR VIEWS ON POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES TO
HORN DISPUTE

REF: STATE 001381

1. SUMMARY: IN A DISCUSSION OF THE SITUATION IN THE HORN, SENGHOR
APPROVED OF US POLICY TO DATE AND RECOMMENDED THAT THE US EN-
GAGE THE SOVIET UNION IN A DIALOGUE WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF JOINT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DAKAR 00146 061854Z

SUPPORT FOR A CONFEDERAL SOLUTION. SENGHOR AGREES PHAT THE MOST
PRACTICAL SOLUTION WOULD BE A CONFEDERATION OF THE ETHNIC RE-
GIONS OF ETHIOPIA, ALTHOUGH HE FAVORS A BROADER CONFEDERATION OF
ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE HORN. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE EHTIOPIA IS
LOST TO THE WEST, AND SEES AFRICAN NATIONALISM WINNING OUT OVER
MARXISM-LENINISM. HE BELIEVES THE OGADEN CONFLICT IS NOT LIKELY
TO BEGIN COOLING DOWN UNTIL ERITREA ACHIEVES AUTONOMY, AT WHICH

POINT THE OGADEN SOMALIS WILL HAVE AN EXAMPLE TO FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT SENGHOR RECEIVED ME FRIDAY AFTERNOON TO DISCUSS HORN DISPUTE AS PER REFTEL INSTRUCTION.

3. AFTER GOING OVER OUR CONCERNS AND THE THRUST OF US POLICY AND ACTIONS TO DATE, I ASKED SENGHOR FOR HIS ADVICE AS TO HOW THE US, THE OAU AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD NOW PROCEED IN ORDER TO MOVE THE CONFLICT IN THE DIRECTION OF A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

4. SENGHOR BEGAN HIS REPLY BY SAYING THAT HE FULLY APPROVED OF US POLICY, ESPECIALLY OUR REFUSAL TO SUPPLY ARMS TO EITHER SIDE, OUR SUPPORT FOR THE OAU AND OUR PUBLIC STAND IN OPPOSITION TO SOVIET ARMS TRANSFERS. SENGHOR THEN EMPHASIZED THAT AS FAR AS THE TERRITORIAL STATUS OF THE OGADEN IS CONCERNED, SOMALIA IS ONE HUNDRED PERCENT WRONG. THE FUNDAMENTAL OAU PRINCIPLE OF THE INTEGRITY OF COLONIAL BORDERS MUST BE PRESERVED. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD COME TO HIM WITH A PROPOSAL TO SUPPORT SOMALIA AS A COUNTER TO SOVIET/CUBAN INFLUENCE IN ETHIOPIA, BUT HE HAD TALKED THEM OUT OF IT FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, BECAUSE OF THE OAU PRINCIPLE, AND SECONDLY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE MENGISTU REGIME IS A LOST CAUSE FOR THE WEST. THE FACT THAT THE MARXIST-LENINIST INTELLECTUALS ARE IN OPPOSITION TO MENGISTU, AND THE ISRAELIS ARE STILL THERE, INDICATE THAT MENGISTU IS MORE OF AN AFRICAN NATIONALIST THAN A SOVIET-LEANING MARXIST. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 DAKAR 00146 061854Z

SENGHOR SAID THAT THE INTERNAL ETHIOPIAN SITUATION IS A VERY COMPLEX PROBLEM WHICH CANNOT BE REDUCED TO A SIMPLE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION.

5. WITH THE FOREGOING BACKGROUND IN MIND, I ASKED SENGHOR WHAT

HE PERCEIVES AS THE ULTIMATE SOLUTION AND THE NEXT STEP IN THAT DIRECTION. WITHOUT ANY PROMPTING FROM ME, SENGHOR THEN PROCEEDED TO AGREE WITH THE POINTS MADE IN PARAGRAPH FOUR REFTEL. SOMALIA IS COMPLETELY WRONG TO TRY AND ANNEX THE OGADEN, BUT A RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO ANTE IS NOT FEASIBLE EITHER. THE ANSWER LIES IN A CONFEDERATION. PREFERABLY A CONFEDERATION OF SOMALIA, DJIBOUTI, ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA, BUT MORE PRACTICALLY A CONFEDERATION OF THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC REGIONS WITHIN ETHIOPIA.

6. I ASKED SENGHOR WHAT ROLE THE US MIGHT PLAY IN STIMULATING A MOVEMENT TOWARD SUCH A SOLUTION. HE SAID THAT WHAT THE UNITED STATES MUST DO IS ENGAGE THE SOVIET UNION IN A DIALOGUE IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE SOLUTION JOINTLY. SENEGAL AND OTHER LIKEMINDED AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WILL PUSH THE IDEA WITHIN OAU COUNCILS. SENGHOR SAID HE HAS ALREADY DONE THIS WITH SAID BARRE'S SPECIAL ENVOY WHO WAS RECENTLY IN DAKAR.

7. SENGHOR CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING THE VIEW THAT THE OGADEN IS STILL TOO HOT TO START COOLING DOWN, AND HE DID NOT EXPECT TO SEE ANY PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION SOON, ALTHOUGH THE US AND THE OAU COUNTRIES SHOULD EXERT PRESSURE ANYWAY. HE SAID THAT THE FIRST STEP IS AUTONOMY FOR ERITREA. WHEN THAT HAPPENS, THE OGADEN WILL SEE AUTONOMOUS LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL.

8. COMMENT: SENGHOR'S BELIEF IN A ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI-DJIBOUTI-ERITREAN CONFEDERATION SOUNDS SIMILAR TO FIDEL CASTRO'S EARLIER CALL FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST CONFEDERATION IN THE HORN AS A MEANS OF AVOIDING ETHNIC CONFLICT. BUT WHAT SENGHOR IS SAYING IS THAT MARXISM-LENINISM WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TAKE ROOT IN THE REGION; AFRICAN NATIONALISM IS STRONGER; THE SOVIETS ARE CURRENTLY IN A
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 DAKAR 00146 061854Z

NO-WIN SITUATION AND NEED AN OUT; AND THE US SHOULD NOT FEAR THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF COLLABORATING WITH THE SOVIETS IN PUSHING A CONFEDERAL SOLUTION.

COHEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978DAKAR00146
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780010-1316
Format: TEL
From: DAKAR
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780193/aaaadagl.tel
Line Count: 140
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 559a01e6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 STATE 1381
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3819594
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REQUEST FOR VIEWS ON POSSIBLE NEW APPROACHES TO HORN DISPUTE
TAGS: PDEV, PDIP, EG, SO, ET, IV
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/559a01e6-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014